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## SOME NOTES ON THE *DUNCIAD*

### I. THE NEW *DUNCIAD*, 1742

The history of the numerous changes the *Dunciad* suffered before it reached the form in which Pope finally left it has been sufficiently elusive to tease many a student of literature into strenuous efforts to uncover its secrets. In 1854-55 a discussion of the various editions grew so warm and so at cross purposes in *Notes and Queries* that at length one of the contributors suggested that he and the other disputants should send copies of all their editions to the editor to let him pass judgment on them. So the editions were sent. And the editor, W. J. Thoms, a skilled antiquary, compared them, and made out the descriptive list that has remained the standard bibliography from that day to this. To be sure, many facts have been brought to light since then and published in various books and journals, but Thoms is still the Baedeker of the *Dunciad*. The most noteworthy revisions of his list have been made by Colonel Grant in a supplemental list (Elwin-Courthope edition of Pope's *Works*, IV, 309-11), and by the late Edward Solly, who described (*Notes and Queries*, 5th S., XII, 304, and the *Athenaeum*, October 24, 1885) eight editions of the year 1728, the year of publication, as opposed to the seven known to his predecessors. A good many things yet remain, however, to be said about editions subsequent to 1728.

After the incorporation of the notes in 1729, the most thoroughgoing of all the changes suffered by the *Dunciad* was its alteration from a poem of three books to one of four books. This change was a gradual rather than a sudden one, the fourth book being first published separately and then itself revised several times before it was incorporated with the three preceding books into a single poem.

Of the fourth book, printed separately, Thoms listed three editions; I give below a list of eleven editions, and suggest the probability of a twelfth. For information concerning them I have drawn upon W. J. Thoms, *Notes and Queries*, 1st S., X, 477 ff.; the British Museum *Catalogue of Printed Books*; M. C. Lefferts, *Alexander Pope: Notes towards a Bibliography of Early Editions*, etc.; the Grolier Club,

*A Catalogue of an Exhibition of Early Editions*, etc. (New York, 1911); and my own library. I have not had opportunity to examine all of these editions, and consequently am not sure that the sequence is correct. And I think it not improbable that there are still other editions.

1. *The New Dunciad: as it was Found In the Year 1741*. With the Illustrations of Scriblerus, and Notes Variorum. London: Printed for T. Cooper at the Globe in Pater-noster Row. MDCCXLII. (Price 1s. and 6d.)

4to, pp. 39, lines 618. Engraved headpiece and ornamental initial on p. 1.—Thoms, O; B.M.; Lefferts, 19; G. C., 37.

2. *The New Dunciad: etc.* T. Cooper, London, 1742.  
8vo, pp. 36.—B.M.

3. *The New Dunciad: etc.* (as No. 1). London: Printed for J. H. Hubbard, in the Old Bailey. MDCCXLII.

Large 8vo (but printed in fours), pp. 36, lines 618. Headpiece and engraved initial on p. 5 (first of poem).—B.M.; Gx.

4. *The New Dunciad: etc.* (as No. 1). Dublin: Printed by A. Reilly; For G. Ewing, at the Angle and Bible in Dame-Street. M,DCC,XLII.  
12mo, pp. 58.—B.M.; G.C., 39.

5. *The New Dunciad: etc.* Dublin: Reprinted by and for G. Faulkner, 1742.

8vo, pp. 51.—B.M.

6. *The New Dunciad: As it was found in the year MDCCXLI*. (Rest as No. 1.)

4to, pp. 44, lines 620. No engraving. A second edition; lines 39–40 of earlier editions are expanded to 39–42 of this one; some of the errors are corrected, some notes revised, particularly the note to line 436 (p. 30).—Thoms, P; B.M.; Lefferts, 20; G.C., 38; Gx.

7. *The Dunciad: Book the Fourth*. By Mr. Pope. With the Illustrations of Scriblerus, and Notes Variorum. The Second Edition. London, Printed for T. Cooper at the Globe in Pater-noster Row. MDCCXLII.

4to, pp. 44, lines 620. A reissue of the sheets of No. 6 with a new title-page and without No. 6's "To the Reader" and "The Argument."—B.M. (?); Gx; and see *Notes and Queries*, 10th S., XII, 151–52 (August 21, 1909).

8. *The New Dunciad*: By Mr. P—O—P—E. With the Illustrations of Scriblerus. And Notes Variorum, The Second Edition. London: Printed for J. H. Hubbard, in the Old-Bailey. MDCCXLII.

8vo, pp. 36, 11. 620, misnumbered as 618, error beginning at l. 47, which is numbered 45. This edition was set up from No. 3 as "copy," but incorporates some of the revisions of No. 6.—Gx.

9. *The Works of Alexander Pope, Esq; Vol. III. Part II. Containing the Dunciad, Book IV. And the Memoirs of Scriblerus. Never before Printed. London: Printed for R. Dodsley, and Sold by T. Cooper, MDCCLXII.*

Small 8vo, pp. 60, lines 620, misnumbered as 618, the error beginning at line 47, which is numbered 45. Poem and notes occupy pp. 1-60. The note to line 436 mentioned under No. 6 is omitted, the couplet (numbered 433-34 here) having been revised. An "Appendix" occupies pp. 61-83 (pp. 83 and 84 are not numbered, 84 being "Errata in the *Dunciad*" and "Errata in the *Memoirs*"); the *Memoirs*, pp. 1-128; followed immediately by p. 261, "Pieces of Scriblerus (written in his Youth) already published" and "Others not yet published, mentioned in the *Memoirs*"; and by p. — (=262), "Advertisement."—Gx.

10. *The Works, etc.* (worded like No. 9 throughout).

Small 8vo, pp. 70, lines 620, numbered correctly. The title-page is worded like that of No. 9, but reset and inked differently; the half-title is unlike that of No. 9. Poem and notes occupy pp. 4-70. The following lines are revisions of the corresponding lines of No. 9: 55, 110, 195, 318, 386, 552, 592, 600. On pp. 59-61 appears a 37-line note to line 509 that is not in No. 9. The *Memoirs* follows the poem, occupying pp. 1-132 (being a different printing from that of No. 9); in one of my copies no appendix is included, in another the *Memoirs* is followed by the "Appendix" (pp. 75-112) and the "By Authority" leaf prepared for no. 11.—Thoms, Q; Lefferts, 23(?); Gx.

11. *The Works, etc.* (worded like Nos. 9 and 10).

Small 8vo, pp. 74, lines 648, misnumbered 650, the error beginning with line 633, which is numbered 635. This is in the main a reissue of the sheets of No. 10, with some substituted and some added leaves; in my copy there are two inserts, B2 and B4 (pp. 3-4 and 7-8). Following the poem there are an "Appendix," occupying pp. 75-112, a leaf "By Authority," and the *Memoirs*, pp. 1-132 (the sheets being the same as those for No. 10).—Lefferts, 24; Gx.

(12?) That there was an edition of the fourth book, separate, in 1743, contemporaneously with the quarto (in four books) of that year appears probable from Pope's letter of November 3 to Bowyer, the printer: "I doubt not you'll be upon the watch, or set any other, in case of any piracy of the *Dunciad* to inform me, who shall be ready to persecute. As to the little edition, they have still not separated it aright. The second volume must (as the title you'll see implies) contain the fourth book as well as the memoirs and index. Pray close your account with Mrs. Cooper of the octavos, second volume (no more of which should now be sold) and make all that remain correspond with the present edition, ready to be republished as we shall find occasion, the two together. And let me know when you have vended 500 of the quarto" (Elwin-Courthope, *Works*, IX, 522). None of the editions 1 to 11 contains an index, I think. If we may suppose that Pope meant appendix when he wrote index, it is possible that No. 11 is the edition referred to in this letter, though it does not look probable that the publisher would have let the 1742 title-page remain when he was changing other leaves.

An edition is mentioned by Lowndes (Bohn, 1869): "*The New Dunciad*: etc. London, T. Cooper. 1742. 12mo." But I think that in reality this is the one I have numbered 2; Lowndes calls some other small octavos 12mos.

The British Museum catalogue, under "Works," lists three editions, one of 9 vols., one of 6, and one of 4, all octavos, bearing dates from 1740 to 1753. The descriptions are meager, and I cannot tell whether there appears among them any edition of the fourth book that I have not listed; after a comparison of the list with a similar list in the Lefferts catalogue, I judge there is none.

As to more specific dates, the statement is repeated in several places—Elwin-Courthope, *Works*, IX, 216; Courthope's *Life of Pope*, 333; *Dictionary of National Biography*, XLVI, 120; etc.—that No. 1 appeared in March, 1742, but the ultimate authority for this assertion I have not succeeded in learning. No. 6 must have been issued as early as the first of July; the reference to "line 524" in Colley Cibber's *A Letter* (dated July 7) does not apply to any earlier edition that I have seen. No. 11 was probably published late in September: Cibber's *A Letter* is quoted on one of its inserted leaves (p. 7); and Cibber, in *Another Occasional Letter*, asserts that Pope remained quiet through the thirteen months preceding the publication of the quarto on October 29, 1743.

The history of the composition of the fourth book can be made out in part at least. In the summer of 1741, later than July 19 and earlier than August 12, Pope made a round of visits among his friends, taking Warburton with him as his guest. Within this time he was persuaded by Warburton to undertake the continuation of the *Dunciad*. Pope entered upon the task reluctantly, but he continued at it during the months of August, September, and October, which were apparently spent at Twickenham. Late in October he went to Bath to stay till Christmas with his good friend Ralph Allen; and work on the *New Dunciad* was continued there. Warburton says, in notes to his edition of the *Works* (1751, small 8vo, IX, 248, 251): "He had then [September 20, 1741] communicated his intention to the Editor, of adding a fourth book to it"; and, "He had concerted the plan of the fourth book of the *Dunciad* with the Editor the summer before; and had now [November 22, 1741] written a great part of it; which he was willing the Editor should see." The part played by the editor is made clearer by several passages (*op. cit.*, 246-54) in Pope's letters—August 12: "I thank you heartily for your hints;

and am afraid if I had any more of them, not on this only, but on other subjects, I should break my resolution, and become an author anew: nay a new author, and a better than I yet have been; or God forbid I should go on jingling only the same bells! . . . ." September 20: "If I can prevail on myself to compleat the *Dunciad* it will be published at the same time with a general edition of all my Verses (for Poems I will not call them). . . . ;" and November 22, after urging Warburton to join him at Mr. Allen's: "You will owe me a real obligation by being made acquainted with the master of this house. . . . But whether I shall owe you any in contributing to make me a scribbler again, I know not." Long after the fourth book had been published, Pope wrote (December 28, 1742): "The encouragement you gave me to add the fourth book first determin'd me to do so; and the approbation you seem'd to give it was what singly determined me to print it." I have not been able to learn just when the book in its earlier state was completed.

Concerning the earliest combination of the fourth book and the first three books into a single poem the authorities are, I think, in error. Ever since the appearance of the list in *Notes and Queries* in 1854, the statements made there by Thoms have been accepted as representing the facts. These statements are as follows:

Q. *The Works of Alexander Pope, Esq.*, Vol. III., Part I., Containing the *Dunciad* now first published according to the Complete Copy found in the Year MDCCXLI. London: Printed for R. Dodsley, and sold by T. Cooper, 1743. Small 8vo.

*The Works of Alexander Pope, Esq.*, Vol. III., Part II., Containing the *Dunciad*, Book IV [etc., like No. 10 above].

This we believe to be the first perfect edition of *The Dunciad* in *Four Books*. We presume there are impressions bearing date both in 1742 and 1743. As will be seen in the copy before us, Part II. bears the former date, while Part I. is dated in the latter year. . . . We may in conclusion remark, that the words "never before printed," in the title-page, refer to the *Memoirs of Scriblerus*.

As for the publication of the *Memoirs*, Thoms is wrong, for the *Memoirs* had appeared in the *Prose Works* folio and quarto of 1741 and in a 12mo issued by Faulkner in Dublin in 1741. As for the rest, Lowndes and Elwin-Courthope repeat Thoms; Lefferts after quoting the same two titles adds: "This and the preceding form Thoms'

‘Q.’ It is the first complete edition of the four books. . . . And throughout Cibber is enthroned as King instead of Theobald.”

I expect to show later that the quarto of 1743 is the earliest publication of the four books in their complete form. There is good reason for believing that no edition of the first three books was issued by Dodsley and Cooper in 1742. No one, so far as I can discover, has ever seen a copy. Thoms’s assertion is merely an inference. There was an edition of 1742, the one published by Lintot (Lefferts, 21; unknown to Thoms; I have a copy); but in all probability his was the only edition of that year, for the ownership of the copyright then rested with him. And as a matter of fact, it is only a title edition, a reissue of the sheets of Lintot’s 1741 edition with a new title-page. The status of the copyright is made fairly clear by the proceedings in Chancery in a lawsuit brought by Pope against Lintot, February 16, 1742, in which it is asserted that in 1728 Pope sold the copyright of the *Dunciad* to Gilliver for a term of fourteen years, which was to expire December, 1742; and that many years later Lintot purchased the copyright of Gilliver, with the concurrence of Pope, Woodfall, and others, for the unexpired term. In replying to the suit, Lintot stated that he had printed only one edition (the title edition of 1742 was probably issued afterward), and that it was printed with the consent of Pope, who had corrected the work for this edition; and as proof of Pope’s consent he offered this letter of January 31, 1740–41, from the poet to him:

SIR: I received yours of this last post, but it does not mention one I wrote to you some time since which I desired Mr. Cole to deliver to you with a state of that affair upon which I troubled you last summer at Mr. Murray’s, and as to which I wonder you have given me no answer. I hope Mr. Wright has returned you the 50 Books in exchange for yours, as he was directed to do some weeks ago. When you purchas’d the shares in the *Dunciad*, I hope Mr. Gilliver delivered you his title under the hands of the lords as well as mine to them, of which I wish you would acquaint me, for he told me he could not find it, and without it yours would be (I apprehend) insufficient. I am your most humble servant,

A. POPE.

Please to direct to Twitnam, though I am present at Bath. I will revise the new edition of the *Dunciad* or do anything that may be of service to you which is not very greatly to my own injury.

The promised revision was made, but it was slight, being mainly the substitution of Osborn for Chapman in lines 159, 163, and 181 of Book II, and the consequent alteration of the note to line 159. On December 28 Pope wrote to Warburton: "My lawsuit with L[intot] is at an end." Since the end of the copyright and the end of the lawsuit both fell in December, 1742 (though the dispute between poet and publisher was not yet ended), I think it likely that—notwithstanding the numerous editions of the fourth book—Lintot's was the only edition of the first three books in that year.

## II. THE CORONATION OF KING COLLEY

I have been seeking for a long while to procure information as to just when Cibber was promoted to be hero of the *Dunciad*. Last summer when the second portion of the new *Encyclopaedia Britannica* reached me, I turned first to the article on Pope, but only to encounter disappointment. The article is not much more than a rearrangement and revision of the one by Professor Minto in the ninth edition; nevertheless, one of the additions is a definite pronouncement on the date of the exchange of Theobald for Cibber: "In the edition which appeared in Pope's *Works* (1742), he was dethroned in favour of Colley Cibber, who had just written his *Letter from Mr. Cibber to Mr. Pope inquiring into the motives that might induce him in his satirical writings to be so frequently fond of Mr. Cibber's name* (1742)." The same date is given in the article on Cibber: "In 1742 Cibber was substituted for Theobald as the hero of Pope's *Dunciad*"; but the *Britannica* itself casts doubt upon this assuredness of statement by asserting in the article on Warburton that the change was made in the edition of 1743.

The outlines of the quarrel between Pope and Cibber are well known, and need not be more than suggested here. As early as 1717 Pope was violently offended when Cibber introduced into a revival of *The Rehearsal* an allusion ridiculing *Three Hours after Marriage*, an unsuccessful play in the construction of which Pope had had at least a finger. The poet remembered the incident, and in the ripeness of time sought revenge by inserting the actor's name in the *Dunciad* and in other poems, notably the *Epistle to Arbuthnot*. In 1740 Cibber published his *Apology for his Life*, and again



he gave offense to Pope. In the summer of the next year Pope was spurred on by Warburton to prepare the *New Dunciad*, and in it he took occasion to make the attack upon Cibber more direct and more virulent.

In the *New Dunciad* Cibber was only "the laureate son" of the goddess Dulness, not monarch of the realm; but in the revisions and the additions that adorned the numerous editions of the fourth book, as it soon came to be called, the way was being made straight for the enthronement of King Colley—indeed, the procession of those editions constituted a sort of coronation pageant prefatory to the grand event.

Whenever the date of the event is given as 1742, the historian derives his authority ultimately, I suspect, from the inference that Thoms announced under "Q" in his list. This statement I have already quoted, questioning its accuracy. Very probably, however, "M. Br." (Margaret Bryant), who revised the Pope article for the new *Britannica*, is directly indebted to the following comment in the Elwin-Courthope edition of Pope's *Works* (IV, 17-18):

Pope, in a fury of resentment, determined to avenge himself by dethroning Theobald, and elevating Cibber to the throne of the Dunces. It may easily be believed that Warburton, who doubtless felt some uneasiness from the remembrance of his connection with the original hero, encouraged him in his new design, which was executed in an edition of the *Dunciad* inserted among the general works of Pope, published by Dodsley and Cooper in 1742. In this edition appeared the "Prolegomena of Ricardus Aristarchus on the Hero of the Poem," and four new Appendices: (1) the "Advertisement to the First Edition, separate, of the Fourth Book of the *Dunciad*"; (2) "Of the Poet Laureate"; (3) "Advertisement printed in the Journals, 1730"; (4) the "Proclamation deposing Theobald," which is supposed to have been intended for a stroke at the House of Brunswick. . . .

The last stage in the history of the *Dunciad*, as far as Pope was concerned, was the publication of the edition of 1743 under the editorship of Warburton. "A project has risen in my mind," writes Pope to his friend on the 27th of November, 1742, "to make you in some measure the editor of the new edition of the *Dunciad*, if you have no scruple to owning some of the graver notes, which are now added to those of Dr. Arbuthnot." It would appear that these "graver notes," written by Pope and signed by Warburton, were those which were added to the first three books, for we find from Pope's letter of 28th December, 1742, what we should have inferred from internal evidence, that many of the notes on the fourth book had been really written by

Warburton. "I am willing," says Pope to the latter, "to conclude our whole account of the Dunces at last, and therefore stayed till it was finished. The encouragement you gave me to add the Fourth Book first determined me to do so, and the approbation you seemed to give it was what singly determined me to print it. Since that, your Notes, and your Discourse in the name of Aristarchus, have given its last finishings and ornaments." As the notes to the Fourth Book, in the edition of 1743, are almost identical with those in the edition of 1742, we may conclude that Warburton was the actual writer of all those to which in the edition of 1751 he attaches the initial "W." To the edition of 1743 was prefixed the "Advertisement to the Reader," now printed in the Appendices, and the poem was followed by the Appendices inserted in the edition of 1742 and by the "Declaration" before John Barber, Mayor.

This editor writes as if he had before him a copy of an edition of the first three books of the *Dunciad* published by Dodsley and Cooper in 1742, but I suspect he is relying upon the statement of Thoms. I have stated at length my reasons for disbelief in the existence of any such edition.

To prove that Cibber was enthroned first in 1743 I have still some other evidence to offer. That 1743 was the year of elevation is asserted by two of Pope's biographers, Carruthers in 1857 and Stephen in 1880; and by R. W. Lowe in his edition of Cibber's *Apology* in 1889; but none of these writers refers to the foundation upon which his statement rests. Courthope in his *Life of Pope*, 1889, does not mention the date. The information I present is to be found in the *Dunciad* itself, in Pope's letters, and in the two letters of Cibber.

The Dodsley and Cooper octavo of the fourth book, separate, which I have numbered 11, contains an "Appendix" which omits some of the matters included in the "Appendix" of No. 9, and adds others. Two of the additions offer some information here. The first is the proclamation "By Authority" (p. 113, unnumbered), in which occurs this sentence: "We have ordered [Theobald] utterly to vanish and evaporate out of this work: and do declare the said Throne of Poesy from henceforth to be abdicated and vacant, unless duly and lawfully supplied by the Laureate [Cibber] himself." This statement I take to mean, not that Pope has already substituted Cibber for Theobald throughout the poem, but only that he meditates, or has about decided upon, doing so. The other addition is the

author's "Declaration" in revised form. Since 1735 this declaration had stated that the poem contained 1,012 lines; the revision of No. 11 gives the number as "one thousand six hundred and fifty verses." This number, however, does not fit any edition or combination of editions that I have seen. From 1735 (Gilliver's undated small octavo) to 1742 (Lintot's edition) the first three books contained 1,016 lines. Edition No. 11 of the fourth book contains 648 lines. These two numbers added together make a total of 1,664. I believe the 1,650 of the "Declaration" is an error for 1,664, and I have a theory to account for the discrepancy, but it need not be stated now. At any rate, the 1,650 would be far from including the fourth book with 648 lines (or even in its earliest shape with 618 lines) and the revised form of the first three books after Cibber has been substituted for Theobald, when their total number ran from 1,016 lines up to 1,098.

The information afforded by Pope's letters is not free from ambiguity, caused in part by statements which were perfectly clear to the correspondents but which are too much abbreviated for us, and in part by Pope's delightfully parsimonious bad habit of writing letters on whatever scraps of paper he had in hand—"paper-sparing Pope"—thus rendering it difficult for his editors to be sure to which letter a particular scrap belongs. Quotations from two letters have been given above. The project that "has risen in" Pope's mind by November 27, 1742, to make Warburton the editor of a new edition appears to me to refer forward, not backward. In the second letter (December 28, 1742—which, by the way, is slightly misquoted by the writer of the extract above) the mention of Warburton's "Discourse in the name of Aristarchus" looks dubious, because "Ricardus Aristarchus of the Hero of the Poem" belongs to the *Dunciad* in its final shape, with Cibber as the hero; but it is reasonably sure that Pope is thanking Warburton for the manuscript of the piece; for a statement that the editors decided belongs to this letter occurs at the end, "the edition in quarto of the *Dunciad* is half printed." January 18, 1743, he had "delayed a while longer the publication of the *Dunciad*." March 24 he wrote: "When the *Dunciad* may be published I know not," but the delay, caused by the still-continued dispute with Lintot over the copyright of the first three books, was

not displeasing to him. And October 7 he wrote: "The *Dunciad* I have ordered to be advertised in quarto."

Three or four statements in Cibber's two pamphlets, *A Letter* and *Another Occasional Letter*, are more nearly decisive. When the aged but sprightly playwright finally lifted in 1742 the gauntlet the poet had thrown down, he declared himself enlisted for the war, whether it should take all summer or considerably longer: "While I have Life, or am able to set Pen to Paper, I will now, Sir, have the last Word with you" (*A Letter*, p. 8). This was July 7, 1742. The derision caused by the defiance would furnish us amusing comment, but it is not the story at present. Eighteen months later Pope learned—not without considerable dread, one conceives—of a second letter preparing, and communicated the news to Warburton, January 12, 1744: "I am told the Laureat is going to publish a very abusive pamphlet." His means of securing information must have been swift, for just a few days later the Laureate's pamphlet, *Another Occasional Letter*, came from the press. Its author wrote:

Where ever I come then, they say, that this new Edition, this *Da capo* of your *Dunciad*, which like a Song in an Opera, only ends with the Repetition of the same Strain it set out with [p. 5]. . . . At last, 'tis true, in meer Sport for others, rather than from the least Tincture of Concern for my self, I was inticed to be a little wanton, not to say waggish, with your Character [in *A Letter*]; by which having (you know) got the strong Laugh on my Side, I doubt I have so offended the Gravity, and Greatness of your Soul, that to secure your more ample Revenge, you have prudently taken the full Term of thirteen Months Consideration, before you would pour it, upon me! But at last, it seems, we have it, and now Souse! out comes your old *Dunciad*, in a new Dress, like fresh Gold, upon stale Ginger-bread, sold out, in Penny-worth's of shining King *Colley*, crown'd the Hero of Immortal Stupidity! [p. 8].

The middle section of the three in which the pamphlet is arranged has the heading "To the Supposed Author of the Preface to Mr. Pope's last Edition of his *Dunciad*, in Quarto, publish'd October the 29th, 1743" (p. 20). In this section a sentence is quoted from Warburton's "Aristarchus":

"It happen'd, that just at that Juncture was publish'd a *ridiculous Book* against him, full of personal Reflexions." (By what follows, I presume you mean, my first Letter to him of *July* the 7th 1742) "which furnish'd him,

with a lucky Opportunity of improving *this Poem*, by giving it, the only thing it wanted" (*Gall! you could not mean, I dare say! No, it could be only, as you say*) "A MORE CONSIDERABLE HERO. He was always sensible of its Defect, in that particular, and owned he had let it pass, with the Hero it had, purely for want of a better; not entertaining the least Expectation that such a one was reserv'd for this Post, as has since obtain'd the Laurel."

Here are two precise statements: the quarto was published October 29, 1743; and through the thirteen months immediately preceding, Pope had remained quiet. If the edition of the fourth book numbered 11 in my list was Pope's last contribution before the quarto, it appeared, then, late in September, 1742, a date which is probably correct. From Pope's letter to Bowyer November 3, 1743, quoted above, we may conclude that the small octavo edition of 1743—meant to be contemporaneous with the quarto—appeared either October 29 or, more likely, two or three days later. The quarto of 1743, then, was the first edition of the *Dunciad* in its final shape, the first, that is, in which the hero of the poem is Cibber, "shining King *Colley*, crowned the Hero of Immortal Stupidity."

### III. TWO UNDATED EDITIONS

The two undated editions of the *Dunciad* are a folio and a small octavo. The folio has a half-title, but no title-page; it is bound separately, but was evidently intended to be included with other pieces in an edition of Pope's *Poems*. It is rarely to be met with, and is infrequently mentioned in discussions of the *Dunciad*. The only bibliographical notice of it that I know is in Colonel Grant's supplementary list in the fourth volume (p. 311) of the Elwin-Courthope *Works*, where the half-title is quoted. The description there is accurate in the main, but Colonel Grant erred, of course, in saying in his last paragraph that there was no quarto in 1729; and though the edition is correctly printed, the list of "Errata" at the end makes two references to the *Dunciad*. Only by indirection is a date hinted at.

I have once or twice seen 1732 or 1733 suggested as the year of issue, but either date is manifestly wrong. The evidences briefly stated so far as I know them are: (a) events of 1733 are mentioned in the notes (pp. 192, 196); (b) Theobald's edition of Shakespeare is referred to as published, and his edition was issued January 24, 1734, whereupon both he and it were ridiculed by Mallet in a poem

(republished) on "Verbal Criticism," of which twelve lines are quoted in the folio (p. 99); (c) "Variations" of the fifth edition of *Epistles* II and III of the *Essay on Man* are quoted in the notes at the end; (d) there are notes to the "Epistle to Arbuthnot" (which had previously been published), and this epistle, though the first edition is dated 1734 on the title-page, was entered in the Stationers' Register January 2, 1734-35; (e) the folio in the Lefferts collection (the British Museum also has a copy) is almost exactly the same as this—they are two varieties of the same edition, I think—and it bears 1735 on the title-page; (f) finally, if I may rely on a comparison I was able to make cursorily in October, 1908, the *Dunciad* in Volume II of the quarto *Works* of 1735 and this folio are from the same setting of type, the forms of the folio being rearranged to fit a quarto page, and certain slight changes being introduced.

The folio was set up from a copy of the Gilliver 1729 octavo "Second Edition" revised by the author. The copy used was one with the original leaf P3 (pp. 109-10), for the octavo's omission of the line of a French note is repeated by the folio. The revisions were numerous, but were not of capital importance. Two lines of the octavo (III, 209-10) were omitted from the folio. There was some shifting of names of persons: B—y (folio II, 197) took Welsted's place; Welsted (II, 199) took Oldmixon's; Oldmixon (II, 271) took Dennis'; Arnall (II, 293) took Welsted's; Goode's name (III, 147) is printed in full; the initial P—(II, 283) appeared instead of \*\*; Morris (III, 162) replaced Durgen; etc. Besides the changes in the notes needed to suit them to the altered verses, numerous others were made. Some notes, e.g., were lengthened—a paragraph of fifteen lines was added to the note to I, 179. An epigram upon Cibber was added to a note on III, 317. The most important change was the addition of a new note at the very beginning of the notes (p. 81), commencing, "This poem was writ in 1727," and going on to recount the number of early editions and the incident of the presentation of the 1729 quarto to King George. In the "Prolegomena" a quotation from Thomson's *Seasons* was inserted. By the shifting of an exponent letter, a note on "Sawney" was made to refer to a quotation from Dennis (p. 66); this error has continued on down into the Elwin-Courthope edition (Vol. IV, 58, n. 2.)

The folio is adorned with plates designed by William Kent, more famous as a landscape gardener than as painter or architect.

The undated small octavo is number "L" of Thoms's list (it is in Lowndes and B.M.; and is Leffert's 13; and G.C., 34). There are copies with the owl frontispiece, and others with the ass; I have a copy of each of these, and a third copy not precisely like either. The edition has usually been assigned to the year 1733; Thoms says, "not earlier than 1733"; Lowndes suggests 1733; and B.M. and G.C. add to their descriptions 1733 in square brackets. Colonel Grant thought the folio "probably earlier" than the small octavo. My present opinion is that the two editions (and the quarto *Works*) were issued almost simultaneously, in conformity with a custom of the time.

One very good reason for thinking the octavo slightly subsequent to the folio is that four lines were added to the poem: the folio lines I, 250–56 (unchanged from the 1729 "Second Edition"), were revised to be I, 250–60, of this octavo. Another is that in the octavo's list of books "After the *Dunciad*, 1728," two books printed in 1733 were added to the folio list. The ass plate of the octavo is like that of the quarto of 1729—unlike that in the folio, then.

The octavo, like the folio, was set up from a revision of the 1729 "Second Edition," but not, I think, from the identical copy. Its errors substantiate this assertion. Some of the errors not made by the folio may be pointed out. In Book II this octavo follows the 1729 octavo in misnumbering as 210 the note to line 110. In Book III all the notes from 222 to 254 are misnumbered by two lines too much; two lines of the poem of 1729 (lines 209–10) were omitted in 1735, but the typesetter did not alter the numbering of the 1729 notes to correspond. The numbering of the verses is wrong from line 253 to the end of the book: line 252 (it was 254 in 1729) is the last line on p. 159 of the 1729 "Second Edition"; when the compositor turned the leaf over he thoughtlessly followed his copy exactly and gave the next line (253) the number (255) it had correctly in his "copy," and he continued his error to the end, so that while both verses and notes are numbered to correspond to each other from III, 255, on, both are wrong for this undated octavo.

The folio and the octavo agree together in much as opposed to the 1729 "Second Edition," but they also vary the one from the other in many places. The small octavo is nearer to the "Second Edition" than is the folio in some places; e.g., in the notes to I, 102 and 103, 106; II, 66, 367; and III, 146 (first note). The small octavo omits the epigram on Theobald in the folio (I, 164) and its predecessor, and the note on "Lady Mary's" given in the folio (II, 128) but not in the edition of 1729. In place of the initial P— of the folio (II, 283) the octavo reverts to the anonymity of a star. The octavo is the first edition to print a long note (45 lines) on Bentley (II, 197); the folio used only the two letters B—y, and made no note. The octavo alters the verse of I, 250–60, and, of course, the notes are consequently unlike those in the folio.

The most interesting disagreement concerns a point which has aroused considerable discussion (in *Notes and Queries*, for instance) and which has been rolled under the tongue by inimical critics eager to show that the great "moral" poet was overfond of lying. I have mentioned above the placing of new matter at the very beginning of the notes of the folio (p. 81). It is, with two exceptions, printed in precisely the same words at the beginning of the notes (p. 66) of the octavo. One of the differences is inconsequential—"Sir Robert Walpole" for "Sir R. Walpole"—the other is not. In the octavo the first line of the note is: "This Poem was writ in 1726"—instead of 1727, as in the folio. I think it in the highest degree probable that the "6" is merely a printer's blunder. Nevertheless, good white paper has been wasted in the exposure of Pope's turpitude in thus trying to deceive the public with a note that gives a false date. Both the title-page of the undated octavo and the half-title of the folio carry the legend "Written in the Year 1727."

It has seemed well to be thus full in the comment upon the undated octavo because it first contains about all the materials of the *Dunciad* in the condition (though not in the sequence) in which they were to remain until the great revision of 1743. In the next year after its publication one change was made. Pope had by then been reconciled to his old-time collaborer Broome; and to please him he caused the leaf O7 (pp. 221–22) to be canceled and a new-printed leaf inserted on the stub. In the following letters he explains himself:



[November 18, 1735] . . . . I would add another instance of it [my regard for you], by changing that verse in the *Dunciad* thus:

Hibernian politics, O Swift, thy fate,  
And Pope's, nine years to comment and translate.

I have therefore sent you my second volume [quarto?] without that poem till it is so altered in the next edition.

[January 12, 1736] . . . . I had also a mind not to write to you till I could perform my promise of altering the line in the *Dunciad*. I have pre-vailed with much ado to cancel an impression of a thousand leaves to insert that alteration, which I have seen done, and I will in a week send you the small edition of my works, where you will find it done, by your carrier, when I find the direction whither to direct the books, which I have mislaid. In the meantime, I enclose the leaf. You will observe I have omitted the note as well as the verse, and again told them I translated but half the *Odyssey*.

[March 25, 1736] I have been a good while a little surprised, and somewhat in pain, at not having heard from you, after I had sent you what I thought you could not but take kindly, a sacrifice of that leaf in a whole edition of the *Dunciad*, which alone you could be displeased with.

One of the main factors in leading students to assign these two undated editions to some year preceding 1735 is, I imagine, the absence of any edition bearing date from 1730 to 1734. The War of the Dunces went forward merrily, as the pamphlets of the half-decade show. And it is hard to understand why there should have been no edition of the *Dunciad* printed then, whereas so many had appeared in 1728 and in 1729 and so many more were to appear in 1735-36. The poet's interest in the *Essay on Man* accounts for the matter so far as he was concerned, perhaps, but not as concerns the publisher.

#### IV. SOME UNNOTED VARIANTS

None of the lists of the editions of the *Dunciad* makes mention of the quarto *Works* of Pope in two volumes dated Vol I, 1717, and Vol. II, 1735, though the second volume contains the *Dunciad*. The edition is well known, and its *Dunciad* is made up in a form unlike that of other editions except the folio. I cannot account for its general omission.

In 1736 an edition of Pope's *Works* in three volumes duodecimo was published by Faulkner ("Printed, London; reprinted, by and for G. Faulkner, etc.: Dublin, 1736"). It is listed under "Works"

in the British Museum catalogue, but it is not described, so that I am not certain it contains a *Dunciad*; but Faulkner issued a *Dunciad* in 1728 and another in 1729, and it is probable that one appears in this three-volume edition of the *Works*.

In 1736, again, an edition of Pope's *Works* (Vols. I-IV in 1736; and Vols. V and VI in 1737, with the imprint of J. Roberts) was issued by a group of London publishers—Lintot, Gilliver, Clarke, and Roberts—in six volumes, small octavo. The *Dunciad* is Vol. IV of the set: for a description of it see "N" in Thoms's list. I have two copies of this fourth volume that are printed from totally different settings of type, as may easily be seen by observing how the letters fall one under another on the page. On the title-pages the only difference I have detected is a comma; one copy prints the names of the publishers "L. Gilliver, and J. Clarke," the other "L. Gilliver and J. Clarke." The comma edition misnumbers pages 31, 144, and 218, as 13, 244, and 118. One copy trails the other not only page by page, but line by line, words being broken into syllables at exactly the same places. What puzzles me is, why should there have been two settings of type? It looks probable that if the whole of an edition was sold off and another demanded all in the year 1736, some indication of the fact would have been made on the title-page. This edition contributed something more toward obscuring the year of the first appearance of the *Dunciad*. The quarto of 1729 began its Appendix with "Preface prefix'd to the five first imperfect Editions of the *Dunciad*, printed at Dublin and London, in Octavo and Duod." The Gilliver and Clarke 1736 edition reprints these words (p. 3), but affixes to them the date "1727." The first note to the poem repeats the date 1726 as the year of composition, and mentions a "4to 1728." All of these changes I incline to attribute to the publisher rather than to Pope himself.

The importance of Bishop Warburton's edition of Pope's *Works* in 1751 is well understood. Not only is it frequently quoted as an authority, but scholars have made use of the fact that the Bishop indicated which of the notes (to the *Dunciad*, say) were of his composition by signing an initial W to them. I do not recall that any commentator has made the slightest intimation that there were two editions of that year; yet such was the case. And since the two are

different, it is important that the existence of the second edition should be known. One is a large octavo, the other a small one. The printed portions of the pages are of different sizes, being  $6\frac{3}{8}$  inches by  $3\frac{1}{2}$  in the large, and  $5\frac{3}{8}$  by 3 in the small edition (Vol. V, p. v of each). The differences are in part indicated by the small octavo; it reprints at the beginning of Vol. I the "Advertisement to the Large Octavo Edition," and follows it with this note in italics (p. xi): "N.B. This Edition of Mr. Pope's Works is printed verbatim from the large Octavo; with all his notes, and a select number of the Editor's." The *Dunciad* is Vol. V in each set. In the large octavo it occupies a table of contents and a list of errata (one leaf, unnumbered), pp. i-lxiii, 64-323, and two indexes (13 pp. unnumbered, though in consecutive signatures); in the small octavo, a table of contents and a blank page (one leaf, unnumbered), pp. i-lv, one page unnumbered, pp. 1-253, two indexes and a page of errata (16 pp. unnumbered, but with consecutive signatures). The poem occupies pp. 65-299 of the large edition, and pp. 3-230 of the small one. The small octavo omits Warburton's notes to the following lines: I, 1, 7, 16, 23, 33, 37, 40, 45, 113, 178-79; II, 258, 405; III, 15; IV, 27, 39, 73, 86, 175, 214, 241-42, 255-71, 286, 288, 348, 465-68, 472, 517, 518, 544, 643. The two editions vary in their notes to these lines: I, 42; II, 286; III, 173; IV, 132, 198, 506, 647. The small octavo is the source for the 1753 edition in: I, 42; IV, 132 (almost). The large edition is followed by that of 1753 in: II, 286; III, 173; IV, 198, 506, 517, 647. In the large octavo the authorship of most of the notes is indicated; in the small edition that of very few.

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